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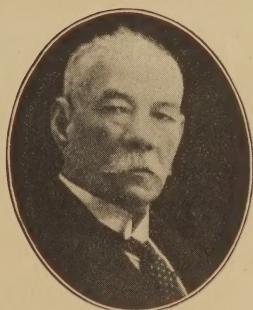
# Complete Independence

*versus*

## The Milner Scheme

(Or THE ZAGHLUL-ADLY ISSUE)

✓  
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**H. E. SAAD ZAGHLUL PASHA**  
(President of the Egyptian Delegation  
and Mandatory of the Egyptian People)

LONDON :

Published by W. Makram Ebeid, Cairo, Egypt, and printed by  
The Caledonian Press Ltd., 74 Swinton Street, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1

1921



# INTRODUCTION

*Extracts from Speeches and Statements made by Zaghlul Pasha.*

“ The British Protectorate over Egypt is null and void. It is a measure of war, and, as such, it cannot survive it” (first public declaration of Zaghlul Pasha in 1918 at the Khedivia' Society of Political Economy).

“ The right to life and liberty can no longer be confined to certain continents or certain latitudes. We claim the right to



Crowd assembling outside Zaghlul Pasha's house, Cairo, April, 1921

have our independence recognised (a) because independence is a natural indefeasible right of nations ; (b) because Egypt has never ceased to reclaim hers even at the cost of the blood of her sons ; (c) because she now considers herself freed from the last ties of Turkish sovereignty ; (d) because she judges the moment to have arrived when she can proclaim the right to full sovereignty justified by her moral and material conditions” (Memorandum to the Peace Conference).

“ The utmost that can be required of the Egyptians is :—

- (a) The safeguarding of the interests of their foreign creditors ;
- (b) The guaranteeing of the privileges of Europeans resident in the country” (Ibid.).

“Complete independence for our country and a friendly agreement, as between equals, with Great Britain, affording her such



guarantees as do not encroach in any way upon our complete independence" (Cairo, 1921).

"The British Government can coerce us, but cannot humiliate us" (Paris, 1920).

"Honour be to our glorious dead, who have died for their country's independence. *Egypt is independent*" (Alexandria, 1921).

#### *Difference between Zaghlul Pasha and Adly Pasha.*

"When Adly Pasha first came to Paris the Egyptian Delegation was completely united" (Zaghlul Pasha : Cairo, 1921).

"The difference between myself and the Adly Cabinet is in no way personal. I bear no personal enmity to any of the Ministers. Enmity goes hand in hand with weakness, but I am strong beyond the strength of men as a result of the nation's confidence in me" (Zaghlul Pasha : Cairo, 1921).

"The broad banner of nationalism was seen to cover many shades of opinion" (Milner Report, p. 17).

"Men of even more moderate views, like the ex-Ministers Rushdi, Adly, and Sarwat Pashas . . . . In such discussions it soon became apparent that there were many shades and varieties of opinion among the Egyptians" (Ibid., p. 18).

"The British Government has chosen to negotiate with Adly Pasha and his colleagues, notwithstanding fierce national opposition, culminating in bloody repression of popular demonstrations in different parts of Egypt, for the obvious reason that it knows them to be 'more moderate men,' with a shade of opinion favourable to its own" (extract from my speech—*infra*).

"The whole dispute really turns upon the Milner scheme. The Adly Cabinet is merely endeavouring to find new and attractive formulas for foisting upon us the Milner Scheme, which Zaghlul Pasha and the bulk of the nation have rejected. . . ." (extract from my interview with the *Manchester Guardian*, August 6, 1921).

"Notwithstanding the apparent identity of programme, the difference between Zaghlul and Adly is really one between independence and the Milner Scheme; between the nation and the Government; and between Egypt and Great Britain. Moreover, there are two essential points of difference which are apparent enough, and which Adly Pasha has neither wished nor dared to demand as conditions for negotiating, viz. : (i.) The immediate abolition of martial law and all oppressive and arbitrary measures, which cannot be said to create an atmosphere conducive to a friendly settlement; (ii.) the immediate election by popular suffrage of a National Assembly to appoint qualified national delegates for negotiating with Britain upon the basis of Egypt's real independence, and an honest alliance, as between equals, with Britain" (extract from speech—*infra*).



### *The Milner Scheme.*<sup>1</sup>

“The Milner Scheme gives England the right to encroach upon our external sovereignty and to participate with us in our internal sovereignty. Its object is merely to legalise the British protectorate over Egypt” (Zaghlul Pasha—several declarations in France and Egypt).

“The word ‘Protectorate’ is obnoxious to national feeling, and that is why the Allied Governments in dealing with peoples whom they consider unfit for independence have substituted for the word protectorate another less obnoxious word” (Adly Pasha—conversation with Lord Milner, December, 1919).

“The British Protectorate is an improvement upon the previous position of Egypt under Turkish sovereignty . . . and our duty now is to organise the Protectorate !” (Adly Pasha, interview with Al-Mokattam, 1915).

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<sup>1</sup> *Brief Synopsis of Milner Scheme.*—The scheme describes Egypt as an “independent constitutional monarchy,” but proceeds to provide for such restrictions upon Egypt’s external and internal sovereignty as to make of our “independence” a mere hollow word. The following are a few typical restrictions out of many :—

British military force to be maintained on Egyptian soil “for the protection of imperial communications” ;

A Financial Adviser ;

A Judicial Adviser to be “consulted” on any matter connected with the maintenance of law and order ;

British representative to enjoy an “exceptional” position ;

Right of veto vested in British representative in regard to legislation concerning foreigners ;

Control over external sovereignty and treaties ;

and several other restrictions as to foreign representation, capitulation treaties, military alliance, British officials, &c., &c.

In a word, a protectorate put into form and legalised. But although thanks to Adly Pasha himself, the scheme was erroneously explained, the nation formulated seventeen reservations, and is determined to accept no less than its complete independence, properly interpreted. What constitutes “complete independence” (or “undoubted independence” as Adly Pasha called it in Egypt), as also the proper “guarantees to England,” will no longer be left to the interpretation of Adly Pasha and his friends.





*Speech delivered by Professor Makram Ebeid, member of the Egyptian Delegation, as the guest of the Egypt Parliamentary Committee, at dinner held at the House of Commons, on August 9, 1921.*

GENTLEMEN,

**A**LLow me to thank you with all my heart for your kind and encouraging invitation to speak here, an invitation so kind that I promise you in return that my speech will be proportionately and commendably short ! And, believe me, this is no small task on the part of an indignant political missionary, who is anxious to give expression both to his mission and his indignation. But I will confine my ardour to the limits of an after-dinner speech, conscious as I am of the privilege of being able to address so free and representative an assembly and, indeed, of being able to speak at all, the right of free speech being a blessing of which we are now deprived in our unhappy country.

### Freedom of Speech

Yes, gentlemen, shortly before I left Egypt, speaking in public gardens or public places was prohibited, and woe betide any person who now attempts to evade these regulations by resorting to theatres or concert rooms to air his political views. The theatre authorities will tell him to refer to the police for permission, the police will refer him to the Minister of the Interior, and the Minister of the Interior will refer him to the Greek Calends (as the French expression goes) ! If, however, he is a *persona grata* with the Ministry he is given all facilities for public speaking, and the Minister of the Interior himself gives orders to that effect by telephone.

But even our all-powerful Government, relying as it does on its vast resources has sometimes to realise its limitations. For although it can order directors of theatres to open their doors to Government speakers, it cannot order public sympathy. In one case where a supporter of the Government made a speech, the authorities had to take extraordinary precautions. An armed force surrounded the theatre and the neighbourhood and—I do not exaggerate—the Minister of War himself came to inspect the troops, nay, the fortress in which the speech was delivered !

Even before the prohibition of political meetings (and sometimes they were prohibited by British military order, as in the case of the meeting which was to be held in honour of the Omda of Calioub, who had incurred the wrath of the Ministry) freedom of speech did not go without its heavy and bitter price.



You probably know the famous case of Sadik Bey Henein. He was one of the nine officials suspended for organising a tea party in honour of Zaghoul Pasha, attended by 800 officials. I also had the honour to be one of the nine. One of us, who was a judge, was acquitted by the Court of Appeal, the highest Law Court in Egypt, composed of nine judges, presided over by Talaat Pasha, who is one of the official negotiators now in London. Their judgment, which was given unanimously, sanctioned the right of every Government official as of every Egyptian to make political speeches, and declared formally that a Government official may entertain political views which differ entirely from those of the Ministry. Yet, notwithstanding this judgment acquitting his colleague, indeed, because of it, Sadik Bey, whose case was still pending, was summarily dismissed by order of the Ministry, for no other reason than that, in a reception given in our honour by 500 of our fellow-officials, he spoke on our behalf thanking them and criticising in measured terms the Ministry's attitude and policy. No self-respecting Ministry would, in the face of a judgment such as that of the Court of Appeal, have behaved in the way the Adly Ministry did, giving vent to such blind passion and disregarding the dictates of the law. But the Ministry had more than one string to its bow. In order to counteract the effect of the judgment of the Court of Appeal, it succeeded in obtaining judgments condemning us to a warning from the Special Disciplinary Court, an administrative court composed of the Under-Secretary of the Ministry in question, of the Prosecutor-General (he who prosecuted our judge-colleague before the Court of Appeal), of the legal adviser of the Ministry itself, and of a subordinate official. In other words, our accusers became our judges!

Now, gentlemen, all these proceedings were merely intended to throw dust in the eyes of the public and to enable the Cairo correspondent of the *Times* or of the *Morning Post* (both being ardent partisans of the Adly Cabinet) to announce to the English public that the High Court of Discipline has given a contrary verdict to that of the Court of Appeal; and not appreciating the relative importance of each court the public would be suitably impressed or, at any rate, puzzled.

Another typical instance of the Government's tactics is the case of the District Governor (Mamour) of Abutig, who was transferred to the extreme confines of Upper Egypt because he had dared to write a pathetic letter to the Prime Minister, telling him that he could not conscientiously force the people to sign declarations of confidence in the Cabinet (cf. Appendix).

Yet another instance, which is one of many, comes within my personal experience. In a meeting held in my native town in honour of the suspended officials, a few Government clerks made harmless speeches of welcome and encouragement, with the result



that the next day telegrams were received from headquarters ordering them to be transferred or otherwise punished.<sup>1</sup>

### The Democratic Farce

In strong contrast with the Ministry's oppressive and high-handed attitude towards its opponents, I may cite several instances of the extreme and almost hysterical favours which are showered upon its own sympathisers. While Government servants are dismissed for entertaining political views differing from those of the Ministry, they are encouraged to become active members of political parties which happen to be favourable to the Government's policy!

The piquant incident of the democratic party is one to the point. Hearing that the party was going to meet in a general assembly to discuss the political situation, and fearing a Zaghlul majority, the Ministry resorted to a device which does credit to its remarkable power of intrigue, but not to its power of discernment. The device was simple enough. About forty sympathisers of the Government, consisting mostly of private secretaries and the staff of each individual Minister, were admitted as members of the party two days before the meeting; and when the meeting came to be held the old members were horrified to see a new army of full-blown democrats spring upon them! Just think of those bureaucratic democrats, gentlemen, and join in the hearty laugh which all Egypt laughed the next day. Think of the position and mentality of a Government reduced to such straits! And those Government officials who took part in active politics as members of a party were neither suspended nor tried by disciplinary courts—banish the thought!

### The Ban on Songs

Like all despotic Governments, our Government has really no sense of humour. Latterly Zaghlul Pasha was invited to a charitable entertainment, the programme of which included several patriotic and harmless songs sung daily in Egypt, and a short

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<sup>1</sup> I must here record, for the edification of the general public, and for the encouragement of believers in the higher nature of sinful man, that the Adly Cabinet is showing signs of an eleventh-hour repentance, if we are to believe its own eulogisers! An Egyptian editor of a newly-established London journal with pronounced Alist sympathies affirms the Ministry's reformation with gusto.

And so the Government, who have made so many victims, are now being victimised at the hands of a humble Professor of Law, who dares to hit at them without their daring—such is the bitter price of virtue—to hit back at him! The only jarring note is that our virtuous Government does not seem to believe in hiding its light under a bushel!

It would indeed seem to suit the present purposes of the Ministry to appear humane in the eyes of the British public. I am, however, determined to do my duty at whatever cost, irrespective of what they choose to do or not to do in regard to me. Nothing and nobody will prevent me from revealing what I know to be the truth.



play. Just before the entertainment began the manager appeared on the stage and announced in resigned and apologetic terms that, by order of the authorities, all the patriotic songs and monologues were to be suppressed, and that the only item on the programme remaining intact would be the short play.

The Government is obviously in deadly fear itself, while endeavouring to instil fear into the hearts of the people.

### Reign of Terror

Not only are we deprived of the freedom of speech, but the country is subjected to a régime of oppression which is assuming the proportions of a veritable reign of terror. Martial law in full swing, the suppression of newspapers without previous notice (e.g., the suppression for six months of *Al Nizam*, a Zaghloulist organ, for publishing an article previously published and circulated in a pamphlet with the permission of the authorities), the refusal of newspaper licences to Zaghlul's followers and to them only, the exile and imprisonment of patriots (e.g., exile of Prince Aziz Hassan for supporting Zaghloul Pasha and not for supporting the Khedive, as was falsely alleged), as also the bloody repression of peaceful demonstrations in Cairo and elsewhere—do all these measures of coercion indicate any serious intention on the part of the British Government to recognise our right to liberty as an independent nation? Has light ever been heralded by messengers of darkness?

The sole aim of all these arbitrary measures is to stifle opposition of any kind, as was done in Persia prior to the enforcement of the Anglo-Persian treaty. And I hold that the British Government is directly or indirectly responsible for the present condition of affairs in Egypt, and it is only for this reason and for the reason that you are the representatives of a free people with whom we desire to conclude a frank and sincere agreement, based upon our own free will, that I am mentioning to you all those acts which are irreconcilable both with free will and friendship. The Adly Ministry claim to represent the nation and its ideal; but I am here to prove that they do not and that the few of my countrymen who have fallen in with their plans are either unwilling or misguided instruments. In all countries, even if liberal and democratic, the Government in power wields considerable influence, and as an English Parliamentary gentleman told me, the wonder is that, with martial law in full swing, the Egyptian Government has obtained such poor results. The ardent patriotism of the bulk of the nation remains as intact and as solid as ever.

### Alexandria Incidents

As regards the Alexandria incidents, I beg to assure you most solemnly that the provocation did not emanate from the Egyptians. Such is the position of helpless nations that those who



should be the accusers become the accused. But we do not mean to accuse anyone, gentlemen. All we ask is to be allowed to defend ourselves against the cruel and insidious propaganda which is being made out of these unfortunate incidents. The official report of the Military Court of Enquiry has not, curiously enough, been published so far, but it is common knowledge in Egypt, even amongst Europeans, that the incidents were provoked by some Greeks of the hooligan type firing upon the demonstrating crowd. Remember, gentlemen, that the number of casualties amongst the Egyptians was several times more than the number amongst the Europeans; remember also that the Egyptians have ever been on the best of terms with the Greeks in particular and Europeans in general, and that Greeks living in the most isolated places have not been in the least molested even in 1919, when the national passion was at its height. Remember that there was no reason why Greeks or foreigners should be set upon by the Egyptians in a dispute between themselves and their Government, and that the crowds in favour of Zaghlul Pasha were constantly cheered by Europeans who sympathised with them. Remember all these things, gentlemen, and judge for yourselves.

Nor can any responsible person attribute these incidents to religious fanaticism. There is no such thing as religious fanaticism in Egypt, and I may assure you with all due pride that no country, oriental or occidental, has given a more beautiful or striking example of religious toleration and of unity between the two great world religions than Egypt has done. And, believe me, this is not a mere passing whim suggested by the exigencies of the moment, nor is it inspired by merely modern ideas. No, gentlemen, the Moslems of Egypt have assimilated the true spirit of Islam, a religion of universal brotherhood, and the unity between the two religions was first preached by Mohammedan Ulemas on the strength of texts from the Koran. I myself am a Copt, and you may take it from me that there is no such thing as a minority or a majority in Egypt, the Egyptians constituting one solid compact whole ethnically, morally, and politically.

### **Why we have no Confidence in the Official Negotiations**

Next we come to the present political impasse. The reasons why the Egyptian people are so opposed to the present negotiations are that neither the preliminary steps to the negotiations nor the actual conduct of the negotiations, nor the steps which are likely to be taken after the negotiations, afford us any guarantee as to a satisfactory settlement of our national claims.

In other words, our reasons for not having any confidence in the present negotiations are as follows :—

(1) The present atmosphere of oppression in our country is hardly a good preparation for a regime of liberty. Lord

Milner was anxious that an atmosphere favourable to an amicable settlement should be created in Egypt. Now, is the present reign of terror in Egypt in any way suggestive of good faith or conducive to a reign of liberty in the future?

(2) Although, as Lord Milner says, the treaty is to be concluded between our two peoples and not our two Governments, the negotiations are conducted by men who do not represent our people and—what is more—have refused to accede to the constitutional demand of Zaghlul Pasha for the summoning of a national assembly to elect the people's delegates. Is it reasonable, gentlemen, that negotiations upon which the fate of a whole people depends, involving questions of life or death to them, should be entrusted to men who are chosen in fact though not in name by the other side, and whose only claim to popular support is that on their departure from Egypt strong military measures were taken to protect them from the wrath of the people whom they are alleged to represent! The correspondent of the *Times* jubilantly wired to his paper that no disturbances took place on the departure of the delegates; and that is how the present Government came to be called a popular Government!

True that the Cabinet was enthusiastically cheered by the crowd on its formation, but I will cite the words of the *Morning Post's* correspondent himself: "Much of Adly Pasha's popularity was due to his avowed willingness to co-operate with Zaghlul's delegation." Let me add that never was the Adly Cabinet cheered for its own sake, but always "with and under the banner of Zaghlul."<sup>1</sup>

(3) We have no actual guarantees as to the election of the forthcoming National Assembly. We are told that we are to have a National Assembly to ratify the treaty when concluded, and that the election of its members will be free. But the Cabinet has published no actual programme, stating how the assembly is to be elected, whether we shall have direct popular suffrage, and whether the people will be fully represented, and upon what precise lines. The Government is said to be preparing an electoral law, but you may take it from me that it will only be enforced when it suits the Government so to do.

### Difference Between Zaghlul and Adly

To put the whole matter in a nutshell, the difference is now, as it has ever been since the British occupation, between the people and the Government. Zaghlul represents the National

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<sup>1</sup> In strong contrast with the Official Delegation's gloomy departure, it may be of interest to recall the frantic and indescribable enthusiasm with which Zaghlul Pasha was acclaimed by the crowd on his recent departure from Cairo to the country. He had to remain in the Benha station's waiting-room for a considerable time until the crowd had made way for him.



ideal and is the acknowledged mandatory of the nation; while Adly is the Government's representative and, in reality, though not in theory, England's nominee. He has been entrusted with the conduct of the negotiations because he and his colleagues are, according to Lord Milner, "the more moderate men" of Egypt. Lord Milner shrewdly sums up the position by saying that in his discussions with Adly Pasha and his colleagues, he discovered that under the banner of nationalism several shades of opinion existed among the Egyptians. The practical Englishman cares more about the *shade* of opinion than its outward expression. The British Government has therefore wisely chosen men representing that shade of opinion which is most favourable to its own plans. Thus, although, owing to the pressure of public opinion, our poor Cabinet is made to talk the language of revolution, and although its members are posing as ultra-nationalists, the British Government knows their true colours as well as we do.

In a word, the whole dispute really turns upon the Milner scheme, which the official negotiators are merely trying to trim and polish and render attractive, but which Zaghlul Pasha and the whole nation have rejected. The British Government is endeavouring to force upon us an independence which is a mere diplomatic expression, a sad travesty of the true independence which we demand; and Adly Pasha is the "moderate man" chosen for the work.

### The Presidency

The Cabinet and its supporters allege that the dispute turns upon a personal question of who should be president of the official negotiations. The charge is as false as it is ridiculous. None of Zaghlul Pasha's conditions was accepted.<sup>1</sup> But,

<sup>1</sup> Zaghloul Pasha's conditions, which, it must be remembered, were agreed to by the whole Delegation, including the dissentient members, were three in number (the first two being intended to gauge the intentions of the British Government and the third those of the Adly Cabinet):—

(i) H.H. the Sultan to issue a Decree stating that the object of the negotiations is the recognition of Egypt's complete independence, together with the international abolition of the Protectorate imposed upon Egypt on December 18, 1914, and mentioned in the Versailles and two successive Peace Treaties;

(ii) Abolition of martial law and press censorship;

(iii) The majority and the presidency of the Official Delegation to be secured to the Egyptian Delegation, which is, in fact, the true representative of the people, and on the support of which the Adly Cabinet arose. Moreover, Zaghloul Pasha had a lively recollection of the rôle played by Adly Pasha in the first negotiations with Lord Milner, a rôle which fully justified Lord Milner's description of him as a "moderate man."

These conditions were, however, refused by Adly Pasha, save for the censorship which was abolished, although such abolition was worse than useless, as the Press Law empowering the Government to suppress a newspaper without notice was put into full force. Zaghloul Pasha then claimed that the matter be submitted to a National Assembly, with power to elect the official

apart from this, I believe that no one having any common, much less political, sense could possibly deny that if Zaghlul Pasha, who is admittedly the most popular and influential man in Egypt, had been moderate enough for the tastes of the British Government, the latter would not have hesitated to appoint him as President, or Arch-President. On the other hand, had Zaghlul been so anxious to ingratiate himself with the British Government would he have been so open in his attacks upon the Milner Scheme? No, gentlemen, had it merely been for the question of the Presidency, the English Government would have moved heaven and earth to appoint Zaghloul Pasha President of the negotiations, with or without Adly Pasha. This is, of course, obvious; but you will understand the remarkable mentality of the Adly Cabinet when I tell you that this absurd point was given the utmost prominence and exploited in a most pitiful manner.

The difference in programme is therefore real, notwithstanding deceptive appearances. But there are two essential points of difference which are apparent enough, and which Adly Pasha did not wish or dare to include in his conditions for negotiation :—

(1) The immediate abolition of martial law and of all oppressive and arbitrary measures. It is hardly consistent with our dignity as a nation nor indeed with the dignity of Great Britain that we should negotiate with her while the sword of Damocles—her own—is over our heads.

(2) The immediate election of a National Assembly by popular suffrage to appoint qualified national delegates for negotiating with Britain upon a more frank and dignified basis, namely, that of our complete independence and an honest alliance with Britain offering her such guarantees as are not incompatible with full independence.

To sum up : the difference between Zaghlul and Adly is one between complete independence and the Milner scheme; between the nation and the Government; between Egypt and Britain—or, rather, Britain's Government.

## Outlook

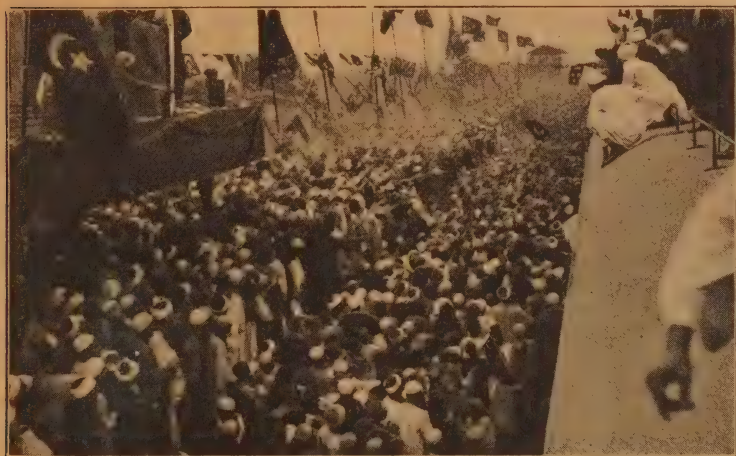
I must confess that my outlook is a gloomy one. Thanks to the shortsighted policy of the British Government in endeavouring to enforce upon us the minimum of our rights in the shape of the Milner Scheme, the bulk of the Egyptian nation, with Zaghlul Pasha at the head, are thrown into an attitude of the strongest opposition. Instead of obtaining a solution, you will merely obtain a deadlock. Instead of fostering a friendly feeling between our two peoples, you will only enhance that feeling of suspicion

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Delegates. This claim was supported by the vast majority of the nation, but Adly Pasha and the British Government remained adamant. The British Government wanted Adly, and a pretext was found for excluding the dangerous Zaghloul—what more could they want ? !



as to British intentions which is latent, but ever present in the mind of every Egyptian. The Adly Ministry is merely an incident in the history of our national movement, an accident of our public life. Its influence is purely governmental, and therefore short-lived. Besides the Government there is the people whom it is essential to satisfy. The discontent and disappointment in Egypt are even more bitter now than in 1919, and I must call upon you in the name of justice to try and avert the coming storm. We have every desire to be on the most friendly terms with the free people of free England, but we want an honest agreement, based on our complete independence and on mutual respect and sym-



Tanta Station. Zaghlul Pasha's train on the way to Cairo

pathy, and not a grudging, half-hearted settlement. Lord Milner said rightly enough in his report that the cause of the popular discontent in Egypt was that the British Government had never boldly faced the facts of the situation. You are committing the same mistake to-day; you are not facing the situation as it really is. Here is our hand; either take it or refuse it, as men and Englishmen. But, please, no half-measures, no hollow theatrical independence, and, above all, no Milner scheme!

Gentlemen, one last word. By helping the Egyptian cause of real independence you will not only be fulfilling the best traditions of your free country, but also furthering its best interests. The more independent we are, the better friends you will have in us; and our friendship can only be complete if our independence is complete. Remember that we entered the war with the Allies three months before the British protectorate was declared over Egypt; and that we have therefore every justification in claiming our right

to self-determination, which the Allies extended even to their enemies. Remember that for the last forty years English statesmen, who are first and foremost English gentlemen, have frequently pledged England's honour to the evacuation of our country and the restoration of our rights. Remember also that the cause of Egyptian freedom is in a sense the cause of Eastern freedom, and that a discontented Egypt is a menace to the tranquillity of the whole East.

Remembering these dictates of humanity, honour, and interest, you will agree with me, gentlemen, that the Milner scheme is no solution, and that any settlement upon such half-hearted lines will only make matters worse in Egypt. I am not threatening—nay, *I am* threatening free England, not because she cannot repress any rising, but because *she can*. For if England now believes in the gospel of force, she will have won the war, but lost her soul!



## APPENDIX

*Extracts from Address delivered by Dr. Hamed Mahmud, Secretary of Saad Zaghloul Pasha, at the Grand Hotel, on Friday afternoon, July 1.*

### I.—ARRIVAL AT ALEXANDRIA : ZAGLOUL NATIONAL HERO

I shall not attempt to describe fully Zaghloul Pasha's arrival in Alexandria as this would be impossible, not only for me but for anyone. The *Vienna*, which conveyed him from Trieste to Alexandria, was met fully an hour and a half before she laid



Motor launch conveying Zaghloul Pasha to Alexandria

anchor, by decorated steamers, motor and steam launches, sailing vessels and, later, rowing boats. I counted 123 such vessels, and then gave it up. A big ship, which belonged to the Crown Prince of Greece, was specially chartered by the citizens of Port Said, who came all the way to Alexandria to greet Zaghloul Pasha—a twenty-four hours' voyage. I may here add that before we left Paris, and even at 12.30 a.m. when we arrived at Trieste, Zaghloul Pasha was receiving cables from Egypt begging him to accept their offer of that ship to convey him home. With tears in his eyes he told me he hated disappointing the people, but he could not possibly accept in face of the expense this offer would entail upon his people, especially while the country is in the throes of a terrible financial crisis. Each one of these vessels had a band, and was full to overcrowding, and the bands were drowned by the cheers "Long live Zaghloul Pasha! Long live complete independence!" At last we landed, and there was wild

delirium in Alexandria. The procession to Claridge's Hotel took three and a half hours to pass a certain point, passing all the time through streets decorated as if for a carnival. Flowers were strewn in front of the procession. Thousands of people, cheering and waving flags and banners with the Crescent embracing the Cross, escorted the party. Theatrical companies even acted plays in the street, having stage equipment complete! I was told by the police officers who met us on the boat before landing that there were 250,000 new arrivals in Alexandria. That night there was no sleep for any of us, since the hotel was surrounded by crowds who kept cheering.

These photographs may perhaps convey an idea of what took place in Alexandria. Thus it is easy to see that Zagloul is, as ever, the national leader.

We left Alexandria for Cairo in a special train, whose roofs afforded accommodation for 600 stowaways, followed by other special trains. This railway notice does credit to the foresight of the railway officials, who thought it was necessary to curtail the train service that day. They would have, however, done better to go a step further for only special trains were run that day. The train took double the usual time to complete the journey: it could not have been done in less. People prostrated themselves on the line in front of the train—the only possible way to stop the train. This enabled them to gain a glimpse of their beloved Zagloul. Those who got near enough actually kissed the train. Gallant Beduin horsemen firing salutes, decorated motor cars and motor cycles raced by the train's side from Alexandria to Cairo. Cairo was at last reached, and time it was too, or we should have been crowded out by addresses, bouquets, and other emblems of homage to Zagloul Pasha, received on the way. I am sure no man can describe the Cairo scenes. There was a deafening continuous roar of: "Long live Saad Pasha Zagloul!" "Long live our beloved leader!" "Long live Father Zagloul!" "Long live Adly under the banner of Zagloul!"

If there was wild delirium in Alexandria, the delirium here was still wilder, the people being in a joyous humour. It is gratifying to say that not a single case of disorder was reported during those two days. Even pickpockets declared abstention from practising their nefarious profession during the first two days—the day of Zagloul Pasha's arrival in Alexandria and the day of his arrival in Cairo—otherwise two prosperous days for them—saying they did not wish to be behind their more fortunate countrymen in showing their patriotism.

"It was worth the long hours of waiting—more than worth it," so wrote the correspondent of the *Egyptian Mail*. I agree with the British major who exclaimed: "Twelve hours! I'd have waited twelve days sooner than have missed it."



BEGINNING OF REPRESSION—DEMONSTRATIONS, ETC.—NINE  
OFFICIALS—GUARDS AT ADLY'S HOUSE AND POLICE STATION

Meanwhile repression by the authorities was being resorted to. No doubt you are tired of hearing about repression—you hear about it in Ireland, and you hear about it in Egypt. I, too, am tired of hearing about repression—but then when I experienced it myself I am, at least, entitled to ask of you a little indulgence and listen to what I have got to say. I need not remind you of one fact, however : if you allow this tyranny to be practised in Egypt for a little longer I fear the consequences will be, not a hostile Ireland of four million inhabitants, but a



Zaghlul Pasha's train at Shubra on the way to Cairo

hostile oriental Ireland of fourteen millions, of whom Lord Milner said in his report, "the national feeling in Egypt can never be extinguished."

Nine highly placed Government officials were suspended pending trial by a council of discipline for forming the committee for the Government officials' tea party in honour of Zaghloul Pasha which was held at the Continental Hotel, Cairo, on May 6, and at which 800 Government officials were present, limited only to that number for lack of space, though some offered a double contribution for a seat, which had to be refused. These nine officials had previously been called by their respective Ministers and then by Adly himself and told not to hold the party, but all threats failed. I have here with me the copies of the notices of suspension and the dismissal from the Government services if pro-Zaghloul acts are committed by any of the officials.

Even professors were not exempt. Professors of schools of law, commerce and Mohammedan law, who issued declarations of support to Zaghloul, were told if they did not recall these they would be dismissed. The provinces, too, had their share in submitting to repression; I have myself listened to many complaints made by people who came in person to tell their woes to Zaghloul. One common threat was that if they supported Zaghloul they would be deported.

Public feeling became inflamed at these outrages, and demonstrations, perfectly peaceful, paraded the streets of Cairo and Alexandria and the provinces. They were met at first by the sticks of the Boulouk-el-Ghafar (Guards), later, at Tantah, by the soldiers' bullets, so that it became necessary in consequence that Adly's house should be guarded by police armed to the teeth.

Schools, to give you an example, Khedivieh and Rashad Schools in Cairo, were entered by these men, who thrashed the boys in the classes, causing many casualties, some of which were serious.

#### MANUFACTURE OF SUPPORT FOR ADLY

Now, with all this evidence of hatred of and distrust in Adly, he still pretends to represent the country. I shall now endeavour to prove to you—if proof be needed—that what support he has is manufactured.

A friend of mine from Zifta was offered £E.50 for 2,000 signatures, i.e., fivepence for a signature. Some of you are perhaps sceptical about this story, therefore permit me to read out to you the literal translation of a valuable document which is in the handwriting of a Government official, a Mamour Markaz, i.e., a district governor.

ABU TIG.

May 16, 1921.

HIS EXCELLENCY SAAD ZAGLOUL, PRESIDENT OF THE EGYPTIAN DELEGATION,

To-day I read in *The Akhbar*, No. 376, a question put to the Prime Minister of the British Government, in the House of Commons in its sitting of the 2nd instant, relative to the measures of coercion used by the authorities in Egypt to force the people to affix their signatures to declarations of confidence in the present Cabinet and against Zaghloul Pasha.

As an Egyptian before I am a Mamour Markaz (District Governor) I feel it is my duty to my country to give Your Excellency the following details as a reply to those wishing to arrive at real facts, the present delicate situation which surrounds our just case crying to us all, non-officials and officials, to do our duty towards our country in order to arrive at complete independence.

In my official capacity of Mamour Markaz, I was, on the 2nd instant, summoned to Assiut to meet His Excellency the Mudir (county governor). I met him, and he gave me to understand that my duty as an official binds me to follow the same policy as the Cabinet's, and that since the present Cabinet wishes to obtain everything that means confidence in it, I ought to summon the local council of Abu Tig for the purpose of passing a resolution declaring



confidence in the Cabinet, that they wish the Cabinet to carry on the negotiations, and that the president of the negotiations must be His Excellency Adly Yeghen Pasha. Furthermore, I was ordered to instruct the inhabitants of every three villages in our district to do the same, after which all declarations should be sent to the Premier, the Minister of Interior, your Excellency, and the Press, by telegram and by post.

I then returned to my district and put the matter before those members I met belonging to the local council and the notables. The suggestion was unanimously rejected by them, who also added that only a short time ago they had declared their confidence in the president of the Egyptian Delegation in a written declaration sent to His Excellency.

I then saw that it was my duty to my country to write the letter No. 1



On the way to Zaghlul Pasha's house in Cairo

to His Excellency the Prime Minister in order that he might issue his orders to the Administration to put an end to these harmful and fruitless measures. (This I sent to His Excellency by the post registered on May 3, 1921.)

Unfortunately no result followed upon my letter. On May 4, His Excellency the Mudir spoke to me on the telephone asking me what I had been able to do regarding the collecting of signatures on declarations of confidence in the Cabinet. My reply was that the inhabitants were thinking about the matter and that the Mayor of Sedfa had sent with a number of the inhabitants of his town several telegrams supporting the Cabinet and demanding complete independence. But His Excellency the Mudir was annoyed because of the result and ordered me to write him a letter with details. I wrote to His Excellency the letter (No. 2) as requested, and sent it to him registered on May 4, 1921.

On May 11 the police commandant of Mudirieh (county) arrived, and let me know that my letter to the Mudir did not please His Excellency (the Mudir), neither was he pleased at the results arrived at in the district of Abu Tig regarding the collecting of the required signatures and declarations. After an hour's conversation he asked me to summon that very day the local council to pass the required resolution. Accordingly the local council met that day, and I explained to the members the subject with all candour; but they appeared unwilling, and asked me to postpone the meeting until the

following day in order to make sure of what had taken place in the other districts.

On the following day I went to Assiut at the request of His Excellency the Mudir. I met him in his office and talked the subject with him for over an hour in the presence of the Deputy Governor. His Excellency the Mudir gave me to understand that he deeply regretted my inability to arrive at the end aimed at. During the conversation threats were used against me which are unnecessary to mention here. He then put before me the declarations and telegrams sent by the inhabitants of each district, as also the reports of the men of administration. The conversation ended, and I was again to summon the local council that same evening.

On my return to Abu Tig the council met on the evening of the 12th instant, and I requested the clerk of the council to write the letter No. 3, observing moderation in its language, and I made it in the form of a paper signed by the members and not as an official declaration of the council.

On asking them to append their signatures to it they swore that they did so against their conscience, after which they signed it. That paper was addressed to His Excellency the Prime Minister, and was sent registered on May 13, 1921. A copy of it was also sent to His Excellency the Mudir, according to his orders.

After the meeting was dissolved, in spite of the lateness of the hour, the police commandant of the county, accompanied by the English Inspector of Finance, arrived (and I do not know whether this was pre-arranged or accidental). His first words were concerning the council's decision, whereupon I showed it to him and to the English inspector. Both appeared to be pleased with the result arrived at.

On May 15 His Excellency the Mudir requested me to send a copy of that paper to His Excellency the Minister of Interior. (It was sent by post registered on May 15, 1921.)

YOUR EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT,

I have the honour to enclose to your Excellency these manifestoes and letters. I do so on my own responsibility begging you to protest with their aid to the proper authorities. It fills me with pride to bear all the consequences of the responsibility.

I beg you to rest assured that the entire Egyptian nation (with the exception of a few for their own personal interests and ends) support you and will have none as President but you.

I humbly submit to His Excellency the President my respects.

MAMOUR MARKAZ, ABU TIG.

(Signed) ABDUL KADER MOKHTAR.

Letters in the same sense were sent by the Mamour to Adly Pasha and to the Mudir of Assiut.]

#### EVIDENCE OF SUPPORT OF ZAGLOUL

About a week before I left Cairo the number of the signatures presented—and voluntarily presented—to Zaglou Pasha was, in round numbers, one million. The three days of the Bairam (feast) which came after this brought scores of deputations from the provinces all carrying with them declarations of confidence and support to him with, it must be, hundreds of thousands of signatures.

Before the Bairam deputations were coming by day and by night, some coming by special train. Can the Cabinet boast of anything similar or approaching this?

The Cabinet says—and, by the way, so also says Lord Allenby's oriental secretary, Mr. Keown Boyd—that they have



the support of the thinking people of the country. But can this be so after what we have seen of the support to Zaghloul Pasha of the Government officials? Do the ulemas, the clergy, the lawyers, the doctors, the professors, and the merchants belong to the thinking classes, or do they not? If they do then the Cabinet's claim is false, since they are all solid behind Zaghloul. The students, the educated, and uncorrupted element of the population, are all behind Zaghloul. Which is the educated section of the fellaheen? The Azharites, of course. Well, the Azhar is behind Zaghloul!

The many mass meetings presided over by princes, numbering sometimes as many as two, three, five, and six thousand notables,



Zaghlul Pasha being escorted to his house in Cairo

ulemas, judges, doctors, lawyers, merchants, and army officers whose resolutions supporting Zaghloul and condemning the Cabinet are always sent to Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Curzon, and the Press here, but which only rarely are given publicity. Invariably after such meetings all go in person to convey, or choose delegates for that purpose, their resolutions to the Sultan and to Lord Allenby, whose oriental secretary dared make such a declaration. This can be but contempt for a people whose guest, after all, he is. I have been to several such mass meetings, and since I left Egypt half-a-dozen such gatherings have been held. Listen to this cable I received concerning the meeting of June 23 :—

Chiefs Egyptian Arab tribes representing one million male population decided meeting held yesterday confirmation

Zagloul Pasha, non-confidence present Cabinet and its official delegation protest against Churchill Declaration.

EL MASRY EL SAADI BEY,  
Arab Representative Legislative Assembly.

MAHMUD LOTAFIEF BEY,  
SOLIMAN MATARID.

The demonstrations in support of Zagloul are the only way of making their voices heard, although, alas ! it costs some their lives.

The lawyers' three-day strike in Cairo, Alexandria, Tantah, and Mansoura, and all over the country.

The so-called "silent demonstrations," i.e., the closing of all the shops.

The hundreds of telegrams to Zagloul daily.

What does all this mean, if they do not mean support for Zagloul?

Even the *Egyptian Gazette* wrote in its leading article on May 23, 1921, saying, "The continual manifestations at Cairo and Alexandria must be considered to foredoom the present Ministry. Consequently the delegation, as at present constituted, is unlikely to go to London to treat with the British Government."

The explosion of indignation against the Ministry shows that the official delegation members have no mandate from the great mass of the population, and if they have the courage even now to set out for England they will have no more real authority from the people of this country than would, for example, a junta of Ulster Presbyterian Unionists to go to London, at the present time, in order to treat with the Government for the settlement of Ireland's problem.

To put it in a nut-shell, the situation is summed up in the sentence of William Makram Ebeid Bey, professor at the School of Law : "There is not a man in the whole Egyptian nation who can say 'I am the nation' except Zagloul."

#### COMPLICITY OF THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES

You will, perhaps, say, "Why do you bring these stories to the British people when they seem to be concerned with the relations of the Egyptian people and their own Cabinet?" I do so because there is no question in the minds of Egyptians but that the British authorities are assisting the Cabinet which they in fact created and has acted—at least in the opinion of most Egyptians—as their agents all the way through.

It is true that the Egyptian police and soldiers are those who actually repress the Egyptian people, but the lorries in which they come to do so are British and are driven by British soldiers; British troops and aeroplane detachments are moved about the country and stationed wherever convenient to the Egyptian Cabinet. Lord Allenby, who is responsible, as he says, for law



and order in Egypt, maintains it by continuous martial law and by calling out the British troops whenever he thinks right. Rushdi Pasha, the Vice-Premier, declared to a deputation from Tantah that the British did not want Zaghloul to head the negotiations; and if there were not these and many more pieces of direct evidence, I would ask by what means a Cabinet actively detested by at least ninety per cent. of the population could possibly remain in power, refuse to hold an election and take steps for deciding the whole future of the country, if it were not by the support of the British military forces.

*Declaration from Ahmed Yehia Pasha (father of the present Minister of Justice) on behalf of the people of Alexandria.*

Telegram from Alexandria to His Excellency Saad Zaghlul Pasha, Cairo.

"We, notables, merchants, lawyers, doctors, engineers, and representatives of responsible bodies, have met to-day at the residence of Ahmed Yehia Pasha in Alexandria, and have decided to send the following communication to Your Excellency:—

Whereas it was decided at the meeting on Tuesday, May 23, 1921, to inquire into the fact brought to our notice that the Administration received orders to compel the notables, mayors, and inhabitants of the whole country to sign declarations and telegrams declaring their confidence in the Cabinet and giving it a mandate to conduct the negotiations; and that the notables, mayors, and inhabitants complained bitterly of these proceedings; and whereas it was decided on the said Tuesday to inquire into this, in order to gather all the proofs to be laid before to-day's meeting; and whereas it has been proved to us beyond any shadow of doubt that the Cabinet is guilty of this; and whereas the declaration of His Excellency Saad Zaghlul Pasha, President of the Egyptian Delegation, published in to-day's papers confirms this accusation conclusively; and whereas the policy pursued by the Cabinet in resorting to methods of coercion in order to gain the people's confidence is in the highest degree injurious to the nation's interests, to say nothing of the fact that it is contrary to the clear declarations and promises undertaken by the said Cabinet on its formation; and whereas the Cabinet, by acting in this manner, aims at obtaining from the country a mandate contrary to Zaghlul Pasha's mandate of complete independence; and whereas the whole nation is unanimous in its adherence to Zaghlul Pasha, its sole representative, and will never turn from him, and any attempt to bring about less than complete independence is only an act of deceit unacceptable to the nation; and whereas the Cabinet by so

doing has lost for itself once and for all the nation's confidence, and has now become in all its acts hostile to the nation's will; and whereas the dissentient members who have abandoned Zaghlul Pasha (the nation's representative and sole possessor of its absolute confidence) and who were only trusted because they joined hands with Zaghlul Pasha, are now considered by the nation as abandoning the fatherland, and do not deserve an atom of its confidence; therefore the nation withdraws its mandate from them.

For all these considerations we, the undersigned, declare that the Egyptian nation does not recognise as its representative any other than Zaghlul Pasha, and that the Adly Cabinet does not possess any of the nation's confidence, and that the confidence it pretends to possess is unreal and obtained by force, because the nation appointed only Zaghlul Pasha and his loyal colleagues to demand complete independence for Egypt and Sudan, and we protest against the Cabinet using force and administrative authority and martial law to compel the people's confidence, and we ask His Excellency Ahmed Yehia Pasha to transmit this our resolution to the nation's mandatory, His Excellency Saad Zaghlul Pasha, in order that he may take what course he thinks fit to avoid the evil effects of that against which we protest.—  
Signed, AHMED YEHIA.





